

The question, it seems to me, posed to us yesterday, finally, was, if our allies and the United States cannot and will not be able to provide protection for these Bosnian Moslems, should we not finally decide to give them the weapons with which to protect themselves? To say "yes" to that and do something unilaterally, we may very well anger our allies. That is not a wise course. Our allies are important to us. After all, the United States does not have troops on the ground in Bosnia. We have chosen not to want to do that. I support that decision. I think we should not move American troops to Bosnia.

But other countries have. Young men and women from around the world, especially young men from Great Britain, young men from the Ukraine, young men from France, young men from the Netherlands have been on the ground in Bosnia risking their lives. And it is difficult for us to say to our allies, because they have put their troops in harm's way, to say to them, "Your opinion does not matter to us; you are wrong." That is a difficult thing for us to do.

Lifting the embargo may, it seems to me, provide the kind of impetus that could fracture very important relationships that we have. Yet this is not just a geopolitical discussion. This is not some political intrigue or dialog between us and the rest of NATO. This is about whether families in Bosnia has the right to defend themselves against aggressors who are heavily armed.

I told my colleagues once previously that some months ago I was watching on television a story of a young Bosnian woman who had been critically injured with some 21 shrapnel wounds and lay in the hospital in critical condition for some long while. The attack that gave her these critical wounds killed both her parents, spared her brother, but critically wounded her. The story I saw about this young woman moved me so much that I sought to find a way to bring this young woman to America. I am pleased to say she is now in our country. She was granted humanitarian relief. She has been allowed to join her brother in this country.

The day that I met her airplane at Dulles Airport, I will never forget what she said about our country. This young woman, living by herself in a single room, reading by candlelight at night, having lost both of her parents killed in a mortar attack, and her brother having been able to flee, had not herself been given the opportunity to leave as well and come to our country.

With tears in her eyes, she described the horror that was visited upon so many families in her country. She talked of the hope with which she viewed our country, the feelings that she had about being able to live where there was not daily shelling and was not the risk of death and mayhem all around her.

It is probably difficult for any of us in our country to understand the daily

life of those whose lives are at risk in Bosnia. Nobody in this country can, it seems to me, look at the carnage that exists and the horror visited upon these people and say, with good conscience, that it does not matter. It matters to the world. It must matter to us. We must find ways, all of us, in the world to care when these things occur and to find ways to try to dampen the fires of war and to try to snuff out the horrors visited upon innocent people all around the world.

I have voted from time to time to send American troops into various parts of the world. I have voted to help fund exercises to respond to various troubles in the world. You cannot take a look at a famine in parts of Africa, where 2 million people risk death, and say it does not matter. You cannot hear somebody who comes back from Africa and says, "I watched 40-year-old women routinely climb trees to try to pick leaves off trees because it was the only thing to eat," and say, "That just does not matter. That is halfway around the world, and I do not care."

We must, as a country, care about these things. We must care about the starvation that exists in parts of Africa. We must care about the killing and carnage that exists in Bosnia. That does not mean that we are the world's policeman and must send troops everywhere, but it does mean that we have a responsibility, with others around the world, to try to respond to the winds of hunger that kill 45,000 people a day in this world.

And so we must respond to the ravages of war that threaten so many men, women, and children in Bosnia. I must say the vote yesterday was a very troubling vote for me because I have previously voted not to lift the arms embargo. But there comes a time when there is no choice. We must, it seems to me, in good conscience, give the Bosnian Moslems the opportunity and means with which to defend themselves against the terror of this war.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

BRIG. GEN. MICHAEL R. LEE

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the remarkable record of public service of Brig. Gen. Michael R. Lee, the commander of the 440th Airlift Wing based on General Mitchell International Airport Air Reserve Station, Milwaukee, WI. General Lee is also responsible for the wing's subordinate groups, the 910th Airlift Group in Youngstown, OH, and the 928th Airlift Group in Chicago.

He began his military career in the Reserve Officer Training Program at Oregon State University. There in 1963 he earned an undergraduate degree in business administration. After receiving his commission he went to James T. Connally Air Force Base in Texas where he completed his navigator training and went on to B-52 crew training at Castle Air Force Base in California. He then served until 1969 as

a B-52 navigator at Fairchild Air Force Base in Washington.

While General Lee left active duty in 1969, he continued to serve his country as a pilot in the Air Force Reserve. At Hill Air Force Base in Utah he flew C-124 transports while working as a stock broker. General Lee began to move up through the chain of command taking on more responsibility and demonstrating his strong leadership skills. During his distinguished career he has served as chief of operations plans for the 940th Air Refueling Group in 1977, in 1981 he was transferred to Headquarters 4th Air Force at McClellan Air Force Base, CA, as the director of tactical aircraft.

In 1986 General Lee received his first command as commander of the 914th Tactical Airlift Group in Niagara Falls. He returned to McClellan Air Force Base in 1988 becoming the deputy chief of staff for operations at Headquarters 4th Air Force. He took command of the 445th Military Airlift Wing (Associate), at Norton Air Force Base in California and assumed his current position as commander of the 440th in Milwaukee in April of 1991. Recognizing his leadership skills and ability to earn the respect and best efforts of the men and women who serve under him, Mike Lee was promoted to the rank of brigadier general on August 12, 1992.

General Lee is a highly decorated officer with more than 5,500 flying hours. His tireless service has earned him the Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal with two oak leaf clusters, Air Medal with four oak leaf clusters, and an Air Force Commendation Medal. These honors are well deserved as the 440th, under General Lee's leadership, earned an unprecedented five awards, including Best Air Mobility Wing in 1993 at the Air Mobility Command's Worldwide Airlift Rodeo, and received his second Air Force Outstanding Unit Award in its history.

Perhaps his greatest achievement while he served at the 440th was saving the Air Reserve Station at General Mitchell International Airport, from being closed. Joining forces with the local community and political leaders, the men and women of the 440th succeeded in convincing the Base Closure and Realignment Committee that their base was too valuable to be closed. I had the pleasure of working with him in this effort and was impressed with his hard work, professionalism and his ability to build such a broad coalition of support from across the State on short notice.

Unfortunately for the 440th he will be leaving us to become the commander of the Air Force Reserve 22d Air Force at Dobbins Air Force Base in Georgia. There he will lead more than 20,000 Reservists in 14 States, control over 70 aircraft, 9 reserve wings, and 19 flying squadrons. He will be sorely missed in Wisconsin but he leaves behind one of the most capable and combat ready

forces in the Air Force Reserve. General Lee is moving on to new challenges and opportunities and I wish him, along with his new wife, all the luck in the world, and success in all his future endeavors.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? CONSIDER THE ARITHMETIC

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, before discussing today's bad news about the Federal debt, how about "another go," as the British put it, with our pop quiz. Remember? One question, one answer.

The question: How many millions of dollars does it take to make a trillion dollars? While you are thinking about it, bear in mind that it was the U.S. Congress that ran up the Federal debt that now exceeds \$4.9 trillion.

To be exact, as of the close of business yesterday, Wednesday, July 26, the total Federal debt—down to the penny—stood at \$4,941,608,987,271.97, of which, on a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,758.43.

Mr. President, back to our pop quiz, how many million in a trillion: There are a million million in a trillion.

RECESS

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I believe there is no Senator seeking recognition. On behalf of the majority leader, I ask unanimous consent the Senate stand in recess until the hour of 3 p.m. today.

There being no objection, at 2:09 p.m., the Senate recessed until 3 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. GORTON).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Presiding Officer in his capacity as a Senator from the State of Washington notes the absence of a quorum.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMPSON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I ask that I be allowed to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE 30TH BIRTHDAY OF MEDICARE

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I wish I could rise only to spend these few moments celebrating a very important birthday of Medicare. It is the way 37 million Americans get their basic health protection. Medicare is turning 30 years old this Sunday. For three decades, Americans have been able to rely on health care benefits in their later years thanks to something called Medicare.

Medicare was not born overnight. It had a long gestation period, ever since President Roosevelt shared his vision in the 1930's of a nation which guaranteed both financial security to its citizens and also health care security.

As we all know, changing anything to do with health care does not happen overnight. It certainly did not happen over the last 2 years of nights or days. And it is hard to do. From the 1930's to 1965, which is a long period in this Nation's history, when President Johnson in fact signed the Medicare bill into law, special interests, parts of the medical community—sadly, large parts of the medical community—and plenty of politicians did everything they could to keep the dream of Medicare from becoming a reality.

Today, however, we have to do more than celebrate Medicare's birthday. The question is whether Medicare will be there for seniors and their families for the next 30 years.

Now, I do not mean to say that Medicare is going to cease to exist. Obviously, it is going to be there in some form. But when I look at a budget resolution that takes \$270 billion over 7 years from Medicare and just happens by coincidence to give away \$245 billion in tax cuts over that same period, unspecified tax cuts, the alarm bells tend to go off. Medicare was not enacted to be a piggy bank for tax cuts. Medicare is in fact a sacred part of America's vision and America's promise. I think of Geno Maynard, Sue Lemaster, and John and Betty Shumate.

My colleagues obviously do not know who these fine West Virginians are but every Senator represents thousands of people like them. Geno Maynard is 78 years old and lives in Kenova, WV. Sue Lemaster is 83 years old and lives in Follansbee. She is on oxygen all the time. John and Betty Shumate live in Beckley. That is in the coal fields of West Virginia. They are four of about one-third of West Virginians who depend on Medicare for their health.

They all recently told me when I visited them in their homes that they are very worried. I did not tell them to be worried. They are worried. They are scared. The annual income of the average Medicare recipient in West Virginia is less than \$11,000—\$10,700, to be precise. That is not much money. That is their income from everything they get—Social Security, black lung, whatever it might be, any investments left over, and probably not much of that—\$10,700. So they are very worried because cutting Medicare by \$270 billion sounds suspiciously to them like they are going to have to pay more for less, and I think they may be right.

This is a very big worry for these four West Virginians as they quite flatly told me because they do not have any more money to spend on health care.

Yes, they could sell their house. West Virginia has high ownership of houses. They could sell their house. I think that is sort of an unreasonable thing to

require to get health care in this country when people have worked over the course of their lives.

And then, of course, on average, seniors already spend 21 percent of their incomes on health care expenses. That is three times more than the rest of us. They spend money on benefits that are not covered by Medicare, the largest of which, of course, is prescription drugs. And that does not include eyeglasses and hearing aids and Medigap policies to cover Medicare's cost-share requirements, which can be very hefty.

Mr. President, I would love to have, quite frankly, as a member of the Senate Finance Committee and someone who ranks on the Medicare Subcommittee, I would love to have more details on exactly what the Republican budget will mean for these poor West Virginians. I do not think that is unreasonable. We are talking about a lot of money—\$270 billion. I can tell my people that a budget has passed that will cut \$270 billion from Medicare, but what does that tell them? That simply gets them, naturally, scared. But where? In what form?

I can tell them that the Republican budget will cut another \$182 billion from Medicaid, which hard-working families rely on as the last resort to get into a nursing home. People think of Medicaid often as just representing poor people. You know, not everybody gets to be born a Rockefeller so there are a lot of poor people. A lot of them cannot help it. Some of them could, but most of them cannot. And when they have to go into a nursing home and they do not have any family around, guess who pays 7 percent of the cost of that in West Virginia? Medicaid.

So these cuts are potentially devastating. And as seniors think about them in the raw number, the aggregate number, their imaginations run wild. They sort of think of the worst-case scenario. I do not know whether there is a worst-case scenario or not, but I ought to know. I ought to know as a U.S. Senator on the Finance Committee. I ought to know that. I care about health care.

I can tell them that the experts agree that a total of \$450 billion in health care cuts will have to mean less benefits at a higher cost and lower payments to providers and, incidentally, cost-shifting right onto business.

And I can show them that the same budget just happens to put \$245 billion into tax cuts. And if you did not have, let us say, all those tax cuts to whom-ever they are going to go, that would leave really a very small cut for Medicare or maybe a cut for Medicare and a cut for Medicaid, but it would be much, much smaller. And, incidentally, the Republican budget has increased funding for defense.

But until we get more details on where and how these savings are going to be run out of Medicare, this Senator is sort of helpless as to how to give the people I represent any help, any sense